9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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the war and the form of its activities has not altered appreciably. Three other missions based elsewhere now have small congregations in the District and a Lutheran pastor under discipline broke away and formed his own 'independent' Church, which differs from the other 'independent' Churches in that the rule of monogamy is enforced.

The total number of converts has increased very considerably, much more than keeping pace with the increase in population; taking the three main missions together, their converts form over 14 per cent of the total population.[1] Figures for the five mission Churches with small congregations in the District—Pentecostal Holiness, Assemblies of God, Seventh Day Adventists, Anglican, and Watch Tower—are not available. Nor do we know the membership of one of the 'independent' African Churches, but supposing the membership of the missions with small congregations in the District to be 2,000 (a conservative estimate) the percentage claiming to be Christian is 24 per cent as against 16 per cent in 1938. Dissimilarities in the response to Christian teaching in different areas are very marked. Around Rungwe, the main Moravian mission-station, the bulk of the population is Christian, and the whole atmosphere is that of a Christian community, whereas in Selya, where mission work began in 1891 as it did in Rungwe, Christians still form a small minority in dominantly pagan chiefdoms. The reasons for this difference are complex. One factor is that Selya is geographically isolated whereas Rungwe is near a main road and within easy reach of the Government and trading centre Tukuyu; but much more important have been differences in mission policy regarding education, and differences in the personalities of missionaries, chiefs, and early converts.

The change from a society based on kinship to one based on voluntary association is apparent in the economic field as well as in the religious. Co-operative societies formed by producers of coffee and rice, which collect and market the crops, and give opportunity

[1] Figures supplied by the courtesy of the missionaries directing each mission and the leaders of two 'independent' Churches were as follows for 1954:

Moravians		23,390
Lutherans		10,000 (approximately)
Roman Catholic		4,700
Last Church (Ngemela) (Also called 'Native Mission')	('independent')	10,701
'African Lutheran Church'	('independent')	200

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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177 for the local investment of savings are the most important economic undertaking in the District. The seven coffee co-operatives handled a crop of 930 tons in 1955, worth about £427,500, and are organized so efficiently as to be able to return over 90 per cent of the price of the coffee on Moshi market to the producer, after the heavy transport costs (14 per cent) have been paid. One Government-paid officer assists these societies.

526 In the educational and recreational field also, associations are 575 emerging: football clubs; companies of Scouts and Guides; 177 'Welfare Centres' with classes in reading for adult illiterates, indoor games, and Saturday-night dances; Women's Clubs for handwork and recreation; and in Tukuyu itself an inter-racial club with its own premises, whose members meet to play games, and get to know one another and discuss common problems. These associations make a visible mark on the face of the country in the shape of new brick Churches, co-operative stores, football fields, and, more rarely, a village club-house.

177 The change from a subsistence to a money economy, and from a 651 system of government through chiefs and village headmen who were dependent primarily on inherited wealth, which secured to them the labour of many able-bodied wives and sons, to a system of government through European officials, chiefs, and clerks paid out of taxes, and assisted by unpaid village headmen, implies the collection and administration of taxes. The District Council has 177 the responsibility for the budgeting and expenditure of over 652 £60,000 per annum. The greater part of it is spent on the salaries of chiefs, secretaries, and clerks engaged in administration, on courts, on schools, dispensaries, and roads. The development of associations with paid officers also implies the collection of dues and budgeting. As in so many countries the difficulty of building 177 up a tradition of honesty in administration is great. Tax clerks, 685 court clerks, council secretaries, and co-operative society secretaries, and even church elders handle sums of money relatively large in proportion to their earnings and one of the tasks of European officials and missionaries is to secure a sound system of accounting and check corruption. In the traditional society stock theft was a capital offence, but money has not the sanctity of cattle, and often the clerk who has appropriated public funds is treated by others as 'unfortunate' rather than immoral. At the same time villagers show great anxiety lest a man entrusted with some common fund should spend it for himself. The risk of theft

10:Gulliver E-5 (1954-1955) 1958 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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well covered with vegetation and with so reliable and plentiful a rainfall, yet, of course, the actual pasturage available is very considerably less as so much of the land is taken for arable and building purposes. There is in practice a most acute shortage of grazing land everywhere, except in certain parts of the north-west Highlands (Ukukwe). This shortage is most critical during the wet season, for at other times of the year the herds are able to graze over the arable fields, where herbage grows exceptionally rapidly after harvest as a result of the high rainfall.

Traditionally, each village had a roughly demarcated area of common pasturage which was not, and could not be, used for arable purposes. With the increased demand for arable land, this commonage has almost everywhere in the Lake Plains been gradually whittled away for permanent arable holdings. Headmen who control these pastures, and many of their chiefs too, are much worried about this process, about the break with tradition and the modern pastoral difficulties; but arable needs are given priority over grazing and the practice continues. In the flood plains, the higher-density regions, common pasturage has by now almost disappeared altogether. The little which remains is largely unusable for cultivation, consisting of infertile or badly drained areas – often the sandy, coastal strips covered with dense thicket and tall sedges which provide very little useful grazing. During the dry season, after the paddy harvest, the situation is fair, but during the cultivation season pasturage is entirely inadequate, and in addition the cattle are compelled to live and graze in extremely arduous conditions of standing water, mud, mosquitoes and flies. They do not obtain enough food then and they lose condition badly. There are many deaths from exhaustion, near-starvation and disease, and this affects the immature stock particularly. Only by obstinate tenacity on the part of both man and beast can the herds be retained at all. There is no tradition of stall-feeding and so far the Nyakyusa have refused to adopt this measure of alleviation.

Yet, as the Nyakyusa are quick to point out, each family has only a few cattle. Most families have a cow or two, and the average is only about two to three head per family – *cf.* Table VI, page 34. Owners of large herds are relatively few, and herds of more than ten cattle in a single family are very uncommon. Although the cattle population is too great for the pasture resources now available, yet the animals are fairly evenly and thinly distributed amongst the dense human population. Goats and sheep are few – about 600 altogether – in the Lake Plains and of no significance. It is important to note that here we do not have a situation of large herds which might be reduced by some form of culling.

Cattle are held in high esteem by all Nyakyusa as a source of valued milk for the daily diet, as the means to marriage (in bridewealth), as a store of capital, as a symbol of prestige and as an essential element in important ceremonial activity. This kind of value system needs no emphasis here as it is common to much of Eastern Africa, but it may be noted that one of the principle uses of the large sums of money saved from wages in mining employment (labour migration)[1] and from the profits of cash-cropping at home is in the purchase of cattle. It is thought that money is best invested, saved and used in that way, once immediate material needs have been met.

Even with the high proportion of deaths from disease and the appalling conditions of the wet season, there are indications that the numbers of cattle are not decreasing and there may well be local increases. Apart from natural increase, there is fairly heavy buying from the Ndali people to the north-west in Rungwe District, and also from farther afield in Northern Nyasaland, and in Nyamwenga and Fipa tribal areas (albeit illicitly).

1. During the course of my earlier labour migration researches [illegible] would usually maximize their savings for use, when completing [illegible] questionnaires, by the number of cattle they could buy.